

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 60.

Peace through Victory.

SERMON

BY

REV. J. P. THOMPSON.



NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1864.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

DECLARATORY RESOLUTION.

The object of the Society is expressed in the following Resolution, formally adopted by unanimous vote of the Society, at its first Anniversary Meeting, February 13, 1864.

Resolved and declared, That the object of the Loyal Publication Society is, and shall be, to publish and distribute tracts, papers and journals, of unquestionable loyalty, throughout the United States, in the cities and the country, in the army and navy, and in hospitals, thus to diffuse knowledge and stimulate a broad national patriotism, and to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion by the extinction of its causes, and in the preservation of the integrity of the Nation, by counteracting the efforts of the advocates of a disgraceful and disintegrating Peace.

Persons sympathising with the design of this Society, and wishing to contribute to its support, may address

MORRIS KETCHUM, Esq., Treasurer, 40 Exchange Place,
by whom receipts will be promptly returned.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President.

FRANCIS LIEBER.

Treasurer.

MORRIS KETCHUM.

Secretary.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR.

Finance Committee.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, CHAIRMAN,
T. B. CODDINGTON, **WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR.**
DAVID DOWS, **JACKSON S. SCHULTZ**
LEVI P. MORTON.

Publication Committee.

JAMES McKAYE, CHAIRMAN,
GROSVENOR P. LOWREY, **JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR.,**
DR. F. SCHUTZ, **CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED,**
GEO. P. PUTNAM, **THEODORE G. GLAUBENSKLER**

Executive Committee.

WILLIAM T. BLODGETT, CHAIRMAN,
CHRISTIAN E. DETMOLD, **J. BUTLER WRIGHT,**
GEORGE GIBBS, **LE GRAND B. CANNON**
SINCLAIR TOUSEY, **W. C. CHURCH,**
CHARLES BUTLER. **GEORGE BLISS, JR.**

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 60.

PEACE THROUGH VICTORY:

A THANKSGIVING SERMON,

PREACHED IN BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, NEW YORK,
ON SABBATH, SEPTEMBER 11, 1864,

BY

JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D. D.

PSALM 98, 1.—O, sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done marvelous things; His right hand and His holy arm hath gotten him the victory.

ISAIAH 32, 17.—And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever.

THE VICTORIES OF SHERMAN AND FARRAGUT.

We have assembled to-night, on the recommendation of the President of the United States, to render thanks unto Almighty God for the signal triumph of our arms upon the land and upon the sea. The annals of war contain few records so illustrious as the campaign of our Western army, terminating in the capture of Atlanta, and the achievements of our navy in the harbor of Mobile. For a hundred and fifty miles our army has fought its way into a hostile territory, against hills terraced with intrenchments and planted with cannon; through rocky defiles bristling with bayonets; over morasses tangled with thickets, and traversed by treacherous streams; around mountains fortified from base to summit, and across rivers whose bridges were destroyed, and whose fords were contested by cavalry and by batteries;—a march which for three months has been one continuous fight with a wily and desperate foe; assaults in front to dislodge him from his fastnesses, skirmishing upon the flank and in the rear, to keep open communications, and to guard against surprise; the victory of to-day preparing a new battle for the morrow—from Missionary Ridge to Ringgold, from Ringgold to Tunnel Hill and Buzzard's Roost, from

Rocky Face to Dalton, from Dalton to Resaca, from Resaca to Dallas and the Altoona Pass; then to Lost Mountain, the Kennesaw and Marietta; from Marietta to the Chattahoochee, and thus on through all the weary and bloody, yet triumphant way, until Atlanta, the westward focus of the rebel Confederacy, with its network of railroads, its founderies and arsenals of war, its magazines of food and ammunition, lay captive at **SHERMAN'S** feet.

A march so full of conflict and of peril, in which so many natural obstacles and military obstructions have been overcome by bravery, by strategy, and by perseverance, recalls the sixth campaign of **CÆSAR**—to subdue the revolt of the Belgian tribes, and to chastise the invading hordes of Germany. That memorable campaign was fought in a country which was “no other than one great ambushade;” and **CÆSAR'S** troops were exposed to be cut off in detail, whenever they were separated from the main body. The enemy, when repulsed, would retreat into the forests, and obstruct the march of the Romans by felling trees, and multiplying the obstacles which nature had created, so that it was almost impossible to bring them to a pitched battle. “They could not be reached in any vital part,” and it was only by a kind of political flanking, dividing the rebel allies through the jealousies of the barbarian tribes toward each other, that **CÆSAR** was enabled to make head against a foe so favored by all the forces of nature.

Yet **CÆSAR** had before him an enemy who, though superior in numbers and in sheer brute force, was far inferior to his veteran legions in military discipline, and in the arms and materials of war—an enemy altogether ignorant of strategy, and not even knowing how to fortify a camp with ditch and rampart; while our General, likewise marching through “one great ambushade,” has had to contend with a foe who possessed all the resources of war known to himself, who had weapons and materials of the same manufacture and the same destructive power, who had been educated in the same military school, who could conduct his strategy with a familiar knowledge of the country, and with the advantage of defensive engineering at every step.

When the nature of the country and the resources of the foe are considered, and the difficulties in subsisting an invading army at an ever increasing distance from its base of supplies, and with desperate roving bands hovering upon its long, narrow line of communication, history will assign to the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, a place among the great achievements of military science and genius. Its crowning victory puts to shame those who have murmured at the slowness of the advance; shame that they should know so little of the

physical geography of their own country; shame that they should have so little sympathy with the brave men who were conquering, not armies alone, but rivers and forests, marshes and mountains, and were winning for the arms of the Union a record as proud as Roman legions ever bore. Well does the head of the nation give the nation's thanks to the Western Army for such "glorious achievements." Well does he summon us to give thanks to God who hath done for us such "marvelous things."

Of the achievements of the fleet at Mobile, it were impossible to speak in terms of exaggeration. Sailing right into the concentrated fire of forts and of rams, battling with walls of stone upon this side, and upon that with walls of iron, butting wooden prows against iron plates, and pouring shot and shell into the huge floating battery that thought to run them down, crowding on into the deadly grapple through a channel sown with torpedoes and raked by artillery from ship and shore—crowding on and on, till the iron-hearted Admiral, lashed to the rigging, signals to the fleet that the day is won. Before the glory of that achievement the victories of the Nile and of Trafalgar, with Nelson's fame, must readjust their claims to naval pre-eminence; while all faction at home and all prejudice abroad should yield to Farragut "an unconditional surrender." Well does the President express the feeling of the nation in thanks to the gallant navy and the co-operating troops; well does he call upon us as a Christian people to make devout acknowledgment of "the signal success that Divine Providence has vouchsafed to the operations of the United States fleet and army in the harbor of Mobile."

WHY CHRISTIANS REJOICE IN VICTORY.

And yet the question comes up, "Why should we, a Christian people, rejoice in the bloody triumphs of war?" Why set apart these sacred hours, in the house of God, to give thanks for victories? These victories have been achieved at a fearful cost of suffering and life. Thousands have fallen in the long campaign whose final success we celebrate. Other thousands have been maimed or permanently enfeebled by disease, while in thousands of homes there is mourning and wo, because the young, the manly, the brave who went forth to the fight with stout hearts and high hopes, will return no more, or have been brought back to sleep in a soldier's grave. Why then, I ask again, do we, a Christian people, rejoice in these victories of war, and give thanks to God for success as a signal mercy?

It is not for mere military success that we rejoice and give

thanks. A triumph of material force alone could not awaken these congratulations that for a week past have brightened the whole face of society. A military or a naval combat, arranged to test the superiority of either party, we would turn from with horror, as from the gladiatorial show of the Roman arena, or the bull-fight of the Spanish theatre.

Our rejoicing is not simply the gratification of national pride in the victory of our arms. There might be victories that would bring us shame. The wanton invasion of a weak neighbor, the seizure of his ports and towns, the desolation of his territory, and the massacre of its inhabitants, or such wars of aggression and conquest as Britain has sometimes waged in India and China, might call for humiliation in proportion to their success. The unprovoked destruction of the port of Kagosima by a British man-of-war, elicited strong condemnation from the pulpit, the press and the Parliament of England. There was no glory in that victory.

Christianity has taught us that to warrant national rejoicing in time of war, not only must the national arms be successful, but the cause must be just. As a Christian people, we cannot delight in war for its own sake; we cannot exult in victory simply as the evidence of superior strength or the occasion of military glory. Yet, though we are a Christian people, and even *because* we are such, we may rejoice in military successes that vindicate a righteous cause.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE CONCERNING WAR.

When a nation is challenged by the assaults of evil men to draw the sword in defence of justice, it may rightfully appeal to God to grant it victory upon the field, and may appropriately refer its victories to His favoring Providence.

(1.) The Scriptures teach us that the arbitrament of war is a method of referring to Almighty God the righteousness of a cause against the machinations of bloody and deceitful men. When David, the anointed of God, was set upon by conspirators, he prayed: "Arise, O Lord, in thine anger; lift up thyself because of the rage of mine enemies; and awake for me, Thou who hast ordained judgment." When David took up the challenge of Goliath, whose army threatened to annihilate Israel, he said to the Philistine: "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied; for the battle is the Lord's, and He will give you into our hands."—(1 Sam. xvii. 45, 47.)

The children of Israel were instructed by the Lord to make

their warfare a service of religion, and to go to war only upon rightful occasion. The priests were to sound the alarm with the sacred trumpets of silver. "If you go to war against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets, and ye shall be remembered before the Lord, and ye shall be saved from your enemies."—(Numbers x. 9.)

When Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, invoked the favor of God in all national contingencies, he prayed: "If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the Lord toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house that I have built for thy name, then hear thou in Heaven their prayer and their supplication, and *maintain their cause*," or, as it reads in the margin, maintain their *right*, vindicate the rightness of their cause, by granting them victory.—(1 Kings viii. 44.)

It was "the sword of *the Lord* and of Gideon" that prevailed over the Midianites, when they were gathered against Israel like the grasshoppers for multitude. "The Lord led forth the armies of Israel." So strong is the testimony of the Scriptures on the point that a just war is a necessary and a lawful appeal to God to maintain the cause of right, that a curse is invoked upon those who stand aloof from such a conflict, and "come not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." (Judges v. 23.) When Amalek came up to destroy Israel, Moses took a conspicuous place on the top of a hill, and stretched forth over the people the rod of God—the symbol of Jehovah's presence, the invocation of his power. While that rod was uplifted, Israel prevailed; and when the victory was sure, Moses built an altar and called it Jehovah-nissi—"the Lord *my banner*."

(2.) The Scriptures abound in examples of thanksgiving to God for success in war. Deborah sang, "Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel. So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord."—(Judges v.) The Psalmist sings: "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight."—Psalms cxliv. 1.)

"O, sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvelous things: His right hand and His holy arm hath gotten Him the victory." "The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid. Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. Now shall mine hand be lifted up above mine enemies round about me. Therefore will I offer in His tabernacle sacrifices of joy, I will sing, yea, I will sing praises unto the Lord."

A special victory is thus celebrated by name:

"Thou hast broken *Rahab* in pieces as one that is slain;

thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm. In thy name will we rejoice all the day. For the Lord is our defence, and the Holy One of Israel our King.”

“The right hand of the Lord is exalted,
The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.”

A national hymn of the Hebrews commemorated their victories upon all great religious occasions :

“O give thanks unto the Lord,
For his mercy endureth forever,
Who overthrew Pharaoh and his host
in the Red Sea ;
For his mercy endureth forever.
To him who smote great kings,
For his mercy endureth forever ;
And slew famous kings,
For his mercy endureth forever.
Sihon, King of the Amorites,
For his mercy endureth forever ;
And Og, King of Bashan,
For his mercy endureth forever.”

The eighteenth Psalm is a religious war song.

“The Lord liveth, and blessed be my rock ; and let the God of my salvation be exalted. It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me ; therefore, will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.” (See Psalms xxvii., lxxxix., cxxxvi., xviii.)

(3.) The Scriptures teach us also, that war and its issues are in the hands of God. Sometimes He sends war as a judgment upon a guilty land ; sometimes He calls for the sword to scourge the oppressor and the wrong doer. In the famous battle of Barak against Sisera, when the Israelites struggled for their very life as a nation, the “stars in their courses fought against Sisera,” and “the Lord discomfited him and all his chariots, and all his host with the edge of the sword before Barak.” “Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God.” Moses, David, Hezekiah, and other leaders of Israel were wont to inquire of the Lord, by prayer and through his prophets, whether they should go up against an enemy ; since they regarded the issue of war as beyond all human foresight, and lodged in the secret purpose of the Almighty. And because the issue belongs to God, it is a sin not to recognize His hand in our victories, but to ascribe them to our own power, or to the skill and the strength of our leaders. “There is no King saved by the multitude of an host. A mighty man is not delivered by much strength.” “Our soul waiteth for the Lord · he is our help and our shield.”

THE JUSTNESS OF OUR CAUSE.

We are upon Biblical ground, therefore, when we invoke God in doing battle for a just cause, and we are following Biblical precedent when we ascribe to him the victory. And, surely, we can appeal to God with pure hearts for the justness of our cause as a nation. Whatever our sins as individuals and as a people—sins that deserve that our liberties should be threatened if not taken away—yet the CAUSE for which we fight is a *just* cause.

(1.) We draw the sword in defence of a Government that was ordained “to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” Concerning such a Government, thus defined in its own Constitution, there can be no doubt that it was ordained of God, not only as to the fact of its existence, but as to the spirit and intent of it as a Government. Its spirit is freedom, based upon the recognition of the rights of all its subjects; its object, “to establish justice,” and “to promote the welfare of all.” No Government, in its theory, could approach more nearly the apostolic ideal of government as “the minister of God for good, and a terror to evil-doers.” And in view of the Scriptural requirement of respect to Government *as Government*, as a permanent ordinance of God, it has been fitly said, that “the great duty of submission to civil authority should be made a part of our *elementary morality*.”

THE GUILT OF THE REBELLION.

That elementary morality, the first principles of right, the foundations of order, of justice, of society were assailed by a rebellion against such a Government—a rebellion wanton, reckless, long-plotted, seeking pretexts in vain, and at last creating pretexts for its own desperate use; a rebellion that aimed at the overthrow of this Government, and that would set up in its stead the sovereignty of separate States, each claiming the right to make the laboring man a slave, and to practice injustice and cruelty upon the mass of its working population, without interference of law and without protest from the moral sentiment of mankind. Rather would the rebels destroy all liberty than suffer the liberty of denying their right to make men slaves. Rather than that you and I should be free to say, that to seize the wife of another and defile her before his eyes and then lash and torture him for complaining, is a crime against man and God, the wretches who commit such crimes would blot out from the land all freedom of the pulpit and the press,

the freedom of speech, and of thought itself. The war which they are waging upon the Government of the United States is an unholy war, a monstrous conspiracy of crime.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

Our war in defence of that Government is a just war—a war to maintain a just and good Government—to maintain the existence of a nation which has in its history, its spirit and its institutions, more elements of hope and of blessing for mankind than can be found in any other; a war to preserve a home of liberty for the laboring man, for the exile from other lands, for all coming times. Every victory in such a war tends to make more firm and sure, not this Union and Government alone, but *popular* government and constitutional liberty for after ages. We have drawn the sword for the hope of universal humanity, for a stable liberty, in opposition alike to anarchy and to despotism; and may God speed the right!

THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

(2.) In the progress of the war, the way has been opened for the deliverance of an oppressed race from the house of bondage, and this is laid upon us as a *necessity* for our own life. I care not to argue again the question of Slavery upon moral and Biblical grounds. It is a waste of time to seek to convince men who refuse to be convinced. And those who will not acknowledge the iniquity of Slavery, after the revelations which the war has made of its effects upon Southern society, of its vices and its cruelties, of its hostility to education, to free Government, to an independent press, and to an honest and humane Gospel, of its utter incompatibility with the progress of the laboring classes in the comforts and the arts of life, in knowledge and in social elevation, and with the family relation as ordained by God at the beginning—those who will not acknowledge that Slavery violates the simplest elements of justice, and all those rights of man which this nation has declared to be his inalienable endowment from the Creator, are beyond the reach of ethical and Biblical argument touching any moral or social wrong.

But aside from moral considerations, there is a military and political necessity for the destruction of Slavery. We undermine the rebellion by sapping Slavery. And our future peace as a nation demands the removal of that system of injustice and outrage which was the spring and motive of the rebellion, and which, in vindication of the divine justice, has drawn upon us the awful scourge of war. The path of victory opens the

way for the emancipation of an unhappy race, and for the deliverance of the nation from a stupendous crime. We rejoice and give thanks for victories that mark the sublime march of freedom and of justice in the land.

LONGINGS FOR PEACE.

3. And, thirdly, we rejoice and praise God for victory as the way to peace, through the establishment of just government, and the destruction of the cause and *animus* of the rebellion. Years of familiarity with war have not inured us to its horrors, nor made us oblivious of the blessings of peace. Even a just and necessary war, a war that tends to the enlargement of freedom and the advancement of civilization through the overthrow of oppression and wrong, a war that the Providence of God lays upon us in the interest of humanity, and that the word of God sanctions as right, a war that animates patriotism, develops the national life, that unifies and invigorates the Government, that purifies public sentiment and evokes the moral sense of the nation—even such a war carries with it so much of calamity that we shrink from the cost and the pain when within reach of the prize. The nation yearns for peace. Wounded hearts and sorrowing households, ready to bleed and mourn afresh for the bereavements of others, sigh and pray for the return of peace. Parents, wives, children, who through anxious months and years have watched the lists of the sick, the wounded, the dead, and who still thank God that *their* soldier lives, pray and long the more for the peace that shall bring him home again. And the soldier in the trenches, in the hospital, in the prison, turns homeward many a wistful look, with the prayer of peace upon his lips. Peace, *peace*, PEACE, is the supplication of this whole people to Almighty God, even amid the rejoicings of victory. It is the daily prayer of him who from the Executive mansion at Washington calls for yet another and another hundred thousand men, no less than of the poor widow who hopes, even against hope, that her one soldier-boy yet lives.

How *base* it is then to pervert this holy aspiration for peace, into a partisan cry, that means not peace but *place*; not peace for the nation but place for a candidate! How *cruel* to deceive the ignorant and unreflecting, with promises of peace that could be kept only by parting with the honor, the sovereignty, the life of the nation, and after that could not be kept at all! How *mean*, how dastardly, how utterly faithless towards those who for years have stood the brunt of war, and are now in the final grapple with the foe, to unfurl the white flag in order to march over their trenches—trampling

under foot the sufferings and the victories of our defenders—to march over these into the camp of the enemy, there to strike hands with the authors of all this destruction and misery, and to beg of them a dispensation of pardon and peace! There is an ignominy worse than war; there is a shame harder to be endured than suffering; there is a pusillanimity and a paltering in presence of treason that only mocks the sacred name of peace.

NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE.

Peace? We long for peace; but let us be admonished by that saying of Burke, that “the deliberations of *calamity* are rarely wise.” Let us not take counsel of our fears; let us not take counsel of our losses; let us not take counsel of our pockets; let us not take counsel of our enemies, nor of those who, since the war began, have been covertly upon their side, but too cowardly to take the risk of avowing it. No; if we would have peace let us take counsel of judgment, of experience, of principle, of the Word of God; and “the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever.” Unrighteousness hath disturbed our peace. Injustice and wrong, the robbery of the poor, the oppression of the needy—legalized by States, and connived at for years by the dominant party in politics—had filled the cup of our iniquity, so that the Almighty Judge of nations must come forth in justice and in judgment. And we can never settle the controversy that God hath with this nation, until we are willing to settle it upon the basis of justice to our fellow-men. We may try peace-mongering and compromising, and submitting ourselves again to the insolent domination of the slave power;—and if we attempt to barter away the liberties of others as the price of peace, we shall have to pay for it over and over again in our own debasement and deprivation of liberty—but there can be no peace and union, thus cemented, that will last. “For thus saith the Lord: Judgment will I lay to the line and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place. And your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand.”

This war was conceived in the most foul injustice. It was a violation of solemn faith; it was perjury, and fraud, and robbery; it was a conspiracy against liberty, against civilization, against mankind; and we can never settle the controversy between the nation and the rebels save by the destruction of the conspiracy, and by a defeat of the criminals, so signal and complete that their crime shall never again be attempted. The question between the nation and the insurgents

will never be settled until it is settled *right*; for the issue is fundamental in politics and in ethics, and a fundamental principle must be laid down squarely by line and plummet, or woe be to that which is built upon it.

THE REAL QUESTION.

Viewed on its political side, the question is not merely one of the national domain, nor of the national Union and Constitution as a device in government. These are but superficial indications of the real question. *That* lies whole ages deeper. It is the question whether a free and a Christian people shall govern themselves peaceably by their own laws, or be bullied out of their laws and their liberties by the bayonet. We are a *nation*. Shall we become a mob? We have a form of Government defined by law. Shall we surrender it to faction and to anarchy? We have a legal, peaceable, constitutional way of electing rulers, in which every citizen has his voice. Shall we yield the sanctity of the ballot box to a band of conspirators in arms, who seek by violence that which they have failed to get by votes? The great issue, I repeat, is whether in this Nineteenth century, after all the struggles of the past, a free people can govern themselves peaceably by their own just and equal laws, or whether we must go back to the bloody factions and military feuds of the last days of the Roman Republic. And that issue can be met only by blotting out the conspiracy—its whole political and military organization—from the face of the country and from the page of history. Either that must go down, or you and I and all of us go down—“and bloody treason triumph over us.” It is a question of foundations, and must be settled right.

Upon its moral side, it is a question of fundamental ethics affecting the rights of man, made in God's image. It was for Slavery that they conspired; for Slavery they rebelled; for Slavery they organized their government; and in every declaration they make the rights of Slavery the condition of reunion and peace. But conscience and humanity, Christianity and civilization, God and eternal justice are at war with Slavery, and the controversy now opened before God and the world, can never be settled till it is settled right. Victory compelling “the abandonment of Slavery” can alone give peace.

THE DELUSION OF AN ARMISTICE.

I know that men deceive themselves with words; and, what is worse, some try to deceive others with words. But we must watch against that treachery, by instructing the ignorant

and supporting the weak. In the midst of our thanksgiving for victory, the cry is raised for "an immediate cessation of hostilities," with the confession that a war which has saved to the nation the States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and has recovered one-half of Virginia, the whole of Tennessee, —a territory equal to the empire of France—a war which has opened the Mississippi from St. Louis to the Gulf, which has secured the keys of Louisiana and of Georgia, has sealed up Mobile, Charleston and Savannah, and commands the coast from Fortress Monroe to Galveston, a war which has never turned backward from a territory that it had fairly conquered to hold, and that has now shut up the enemy in his own capital, and is worming its way into his vitals—we are called upon, I say, to proclaim an armistice, with the confession that such a war has been a failure, and are told that this will bring us Peace! Peace! *Peace!* With rebels still in arms, asserting independence and breathing defiance! Peace? *Peace?* With rebel ports opened for the exchange of cotton and tobacco for ships and munitions of war, and the rebel Government reinforced to ride over our Constitution and our commerce with an Anglo-French alliance at its back! Peace, by strengthening an almost exhausted foe, and by conceding to him that national *status* as a treaty-making power, which he has begged in vain of every Court in Europe! Nay, nay, my friends; *that way* is war; fierce, long, dreary, doubtful, terrible war; in which submission or extermination were the issue. Would you vote, to-morrow, to recall the Union fleets and armies, to abandon your hard-won territory, to open the rebel ports to European supplies and the rebel capital to European recognition, and then fold your arms and trust for peace to the magnanimity of men who stole your arsenals, robbed your treasury, spat upon the Constitution they had sworn to uphold, and levied war against their slumbering, confiding, forbearing fellow-citizens? Peace! That way lies WAR, bloody, protracted, doubtful, dreadful,—or submission to the terrorism that rules the unhappy South.

And if you could vote *yourself* under that, what right have you to remand to it the loyal men of Tennessee, of Missouri, of Louisiana, of Georgia, who have suffered the loss of all things for their country? What right have you to remand to this fate the thousands of freedmen who have fought your battles? —to remand them to the tender mercies of Fort Pillow and the fate of Union prisoners in Georgia pens?

NO PEACE FROM RECOGNITION.

Shall we seek peace by a recognition of the rebels as an independent power? And shall we gain peace, think you, by

creating upon our borders a hostile and defiant race—a restless and reckless rival? Could there be a lasting peace between a Republic of freemen and an aristocracy of slaveholders who had robbed us of half our territory, and then bullied us into acquiescence? Would it tend to peace to set up two such antagonistic nations upon a once common soil, with a long chain of forts between them, and a standing army on either side?

Besides, if we yield to one rebellion against the people's choice at the polls, how long before we shall have another? How long before the secret traitors at the West would plot another insurrection, with the Southern Confederacy as an ally? Recognition means sectional war for generations.

By recognizing the South we should sink to a third-rate Power. We should stand before the nations degraded as a people who had relinquished one half of our territory to one third of our population, because we could not defend our own flag from treason. And what respect could remain for a flag that we would so ignominiously abandon?

But let us conquer this rebellion, and we rise to a position of power: that will make us masters of peace at home and abroad. Then will the nation hold the place given to its continent in MERCATOR'S projection of the globe—the central figure of the civilized world; the seas kissing its feet upon either side; the isles and continents bowing their obeisance from afar. That is the recognition that we shall win for the Union itself by a decisive victory.

COMPROMISE NOT PEACE.

But may not peace come through compromise? Compromise with what? With an armed insurrection against law, and freedom, and popular liberty? Such compromise, by its fatal precedent, would transform our elections into bloody feuds. Compromise with Slavery? And is any weak enough to dream that conscience, and speech, and humanity and religion can be silenced with respect to that stupendous wrong? Or that the abettors of Slavery would receive in silence the rebukes of humanity and religion? Compromise is but chronic war. Justice, and this alone, will give us peace.

THE SOLEMN ORDEAL.

The Providence of God is once more bringing this nation to the test of its virtue. Three years ago God brought us to the test of physical courage, sacrifice, endurance—demanding whether for the sake of the free and beneficent Government

he had given us, for the sake of the fathers who had toiled and fought for that, for the sake of the nations who were slowly, bravely, struggling toward its light, for the sake of the ages whose character we are shaping and whose institutions we have in charge, we would stand up and quit ourselves like men, and save freedom for this continent and for mankind. And blessed be God we were equal to that test. Blessed be God for the heroism of our young men, the valor of our yeomanry, the lavish offerings of our merchants, the passionate patriotism of woman. Blessed be God for all the dead who gave themselves for the redemption of the nation; for the sons whose blood has gone to feed afresh the springs of liberty opened by our revolutionary sires.

For all thy saints, O God,
Accept our thankful cry;
Who counted this their great reward,
That they for *us* might die.

And now once more God is calling us to a higher, sterner test; the test of moral courage, the test of intelligent and responsible patriotism, the test of religious principle. I tremble at such a strain upon poor human nature. This crisis, more than any known to history, will test the progress and the stamina of the race—the reality and the worth of a Christian civilization. We are presently to decide whether all this cost, and toil, and suffering shall have been in vain, or whether we shall gather its ripening fruit by enduring to the end. We are presently to decide whether we shall be a nation of freemen, or a land of jealous, frenzied, fighting hordes. We must determine whether principles and patriotism or *prices current* shall decide our destiny. Whether we will sell our birthright for a mess of pottage and the cry of cheap bread, or defend it against the robber bands that would wrest it from us and our children. Every man of you will carry the honor, the safety, the unity, the peace, the liberty of this nation—or its infamy and disruption, the destruction of Union and of freedom, wrapped in the little paper that he will drop into the ballot box within fifty days. God is putting you to the test; the world awaits the issue.

An Italian patriot, who in former days has suffered all things for his country, writes me by a late mail: "I follow with the deepest interest all the events of the great struggle, and my admiration increases in proportion to the magnitude of character which the people are progressively developing. You are fighting the battles of freedom for old Europe. We are threatened with a reaction of the worst character, which does not dare to show itself, but keeps in readiness for the day when they hope to see the death of liberty among you. But

I feel the greatest confidence in the final triumph of liberty and justice." And shall we, my countrymen, destroy the hope of liberty in the Old World, by *voting liberty out of the New!*

THE WORDS OF ROBERT HALL.

Seeking almost in vain words worthy of so great a crisis, I recall the magnificent appeal of ROBERT HALL to the soldiery of England, when marshalled to meet the threatened invasion of the First Napoleon: "Go forth with alacrity to the battle of the civilized world, where God himself musters the hosts to war. The faithful of every name will employ that prayer which has power with God; the feeble hands which are unequal to any other weapon, will grasp the sword of the Spirit. While you have everything to fear from the success of the enemy, you have every means of preventing that success, so that it is next to impossible for victory not to crown your exertions. The extent of your resources, under God, is equal to the justice of your cause.

"As far as the interests of freedom are concerned, the most important by far, of sublunary interests, you, my countrymen, stand in the capacity of the Federal representatives of the human race, for with you it is to determine (under God) in what condition the latest posterity shall be born; their fortunes are intrusted to your care, and on your conduct at this moment depends the color and complexion of their destiny. If liberty, after being extinguished on the continent of Europe, is suffered to expire here, whence is it ever to emerge in the midst of that thick night that will invest it? It remains with you, then, to decide whether that freedom, at whose voice the kingdoms of Europe awoke from the sleep of ages, to run a career of virtuous emulation in everything great and good; the freedom which dispelled the mists of superstition, and invited nations to behold their God; whose magic touch kindled the rays of genius, the enthusiasm of poetry, and the flame of eloquence; the freedom which poured into our laps opulence and arts, and embellished life with innumerable institutions and improvements, till it became a theatre of wonders; it is for you to decide whether this freedom shall yet survive, or be covered with a funereal pall, and wrapt in eternal gloom."

Then, rising to a yet loftier eloquence, he adds: "I cannot but imagine the virtuous heroes, legislators and patriots of every age and country are bending from their elevated seats to witness this great contest, as if they were incapable, till it be brought to a favorable issue, of enjoying their eternal repose." Enjoy that repose, illustrious immortals! Your mantle fell when you ascended; and thousands, inflamed with your spirit

and impatient to tread in your steps, are ready to swear by Him that sitteth upon the throne and liveth for ever and ever, they will protect freedom in her last asylum, and never desert that cause which you sustained by your labors and cemented by your blood.

“And Thou, sole Ruler among the children of men, to whom the shields of the earth belong, gird on Thy sword, Thou Most Mighty; go forth with our hosts in the day of battle! Impart, in addition to their hereditary valor, that confidence of success which springs from Thy presence! Pour into their hearts the spirit of departed heroes! Inspire them with Thine own; and, while led by Thine hand, and fighting under Thy banners, open Thou their eyes to behold in every valley and in every plain what the prophet beheld by the same illumination—chariots of fire and horses of fire!”

Already do those chariots and horses appear for our defence. Oh, let us prove ourselves worthy of the hour! Worthy of our ancestors; worthy of the Government they provided for us; worthy the name of Christians; worthy a place in history; worthy a future of unending fame! The path of victory is the path of peace, “and righteousness shall give us assurance forever.” Stand by the Government to the end: give it confidence; give it votes; give it prayer; give it money; give it men, and soon this tottering rebellion shall go down like the *Alabama* under the guns of the *Kearsarge*, and there shall not be seen of it a wreck, a plank, a floating spar, nor remain a ripple on the surface to mark the spot where it was engulfed forever.

Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals may obtain any of our Publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the Rooms of the Society, No. 863 Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the Society.
